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ABSTRACT

Hungarian state policy affecting ethnic minorities (Slovaks, Germans, Croatians, Rumanians, Serbians, and other groups) has been greatly influenced by political and social developments in the country. The pluralist perspective that Hungary has maintained throughout most of its history dates back to King Istvan I's 11th century admonition that foreigners increase a country's strength. With the rise of modern nationalism in the mid-19th century, the multiethnic policy was temporarily abandoned in favor of assimilationist concerns. The recent return to pluralism largely resulted from Hungary's dependence on the support of its national minorities during the 1956 Hungarian revolution. Current policy, which sees minorities as links to neighboring socialist states, requires the acceptance of diversity and the rejection of forced assimilation of ethnic groups. This policy is supported by constitutional provisions and other legislation, and has been translated in education in the form of programs designed to integrate rather than assimilate national minorities. The abandonment of the "automatism" stance (the assumption that minority problems would be automatically overcome with the advent of a socialist regime) in favor of deliberate planning resulted in dramatic improvements in minority education, bilingual and minority language instruction, and other minority cultural and educational activities. Whether Hungary will continue to move toward multiculturalism will depend on the country's educational/cultural administrators. (Author/MJL)

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by

Andrew Ludanyi

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THE EDUCATION OF ETHNIC SUBGROUPS[1] IN CONTEMPORARY HUNGARY

By Andrew Ludanyi

According to George T. Kurian's The Book of World Rankings Hungary is a country that has an impressive list of achievements to its credit in the educational and cultural areas. Kurian points out that in proportion to its size, population and wealth on a global level Hungary ranks third in vocational enrollment, 9th in percentage of women in university enrollment, 4th in expenditures on scientific research, 8th in scientists in basic research, sixth in scientific and engineering manpower, fourth in teacher-pupil ratio in primary schools, 9th in volumes borrowed from public libraries and 8th in the production of scientific books.[2] Unfortunately, Kurian does not provide any break-down on minority education opportunities. The objective of the present analysis will be to see whether or not the Slovaks, Germans, Serbs, Rumanians and other nationalities/ethnic groups within present-day Hungary participate in and share in the benefits of such a lofty and desirable status in cultural and educational opportunities.

Hungary today is a relatively homogeneous state from an ethnic perspective. It is overwhelmingly Magyar (Hungarian) according to both declared nationality and mother tongue. Presently, out of 10,700,000 inhabitants only about 160,000 claimed non-Magyar nationality according to the 1970 census, i.e., about 1.5% of the total population.[3] The Hungarian political and economic atlas of the world contends that Hungary's population in 96.6% Magyar, 1.6% German, 1.1% Slovak, 0.2% Rumanian, and 0.5% Croatian, Serbian and other. In other words, that the total minority population is 3.4% of the population. The Nationality federations (of the respective minorities) estimate that even this is overly conservative. In their view minorities compose 4-4.5% of the population or

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ca. 400,000-450,000 people.[4] The largest of these national minorities is the German. The Slovaks are next in importance, while the South Slavs and Rumanians constitute the remainder.

In a real sense Hungary's status as a relatively homogeneous state is a result of 20th century political developments. Throughout most of Hungary's long and colorful history it was a multi-ethnic/multi-national state. King Istvan I who ruled Hungary from 997 to 1038 in his Instructions (i.e., last will and testament or "farewell advice") left his son Imre the following admonition: "Since foreigners come from different parts and provinces, they bring with them different languages, habits, laws, and weapons which all decorate and augment the royal power and curb the arrogance of enemies. And the presence of foreigners is good because the country of only one language and one custom is weak and frail. Therefore, my son, I order that you should feed them and honor them with goodwill so that they will prefer to live in your realm rather than any other place."[5] And throughout most of Hungary's history, her rulers have followed this admonition. Only the rise of modern nationalism in the first half of the 19th century led to a temporary abandonment of this tolerant and pluralist perspective. The Revolutionary events of 1848-49 polarized national sentiments and produced the more aggressive assimilationist policies of the Dual Monarchy after 1867 which ultimately led to the political disintegration following World War I. The latter struggle created many small nation-states in Eastern Europe, and at the same time defined the relatively homogeneous demographic profile of present-day Hungary.

In spite of these changes and in spite of continued strained relations between some of the neighboring states the new Hungarian state has returned to the wise counsel of Istvan I and has built a system of education for its inhabitants, which seems to take into account the needs of all its inhabitants, including the national minorities. A return to these pluralistic policies is a relatively recent

development, but many observers have noted that the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 had something to do with it. Domestically, it led the Hungarian Socialist Workers (Communist) Party to seek the support of the national minorities. On an international plane, it led to unrest among the large Hungarian minorities (ca. 600,000) in Czechoslovakia and in the Transylvanian (ca. 2,000,000) part of Rumania. This in turn led to repressive measures in both these states, which tended to produce strained relations between these states and Hungary in the long-run.[6] Thus, for both domestic and international reasons the role and fate of minorities in Hungary began to receive much more attention after 1956.

The official state policy of Hungary was to define the role of national minorities as "bridges" or "links" between neighboring Socialist states. According to this official Hungarian position the minorities were to provide the human and cultural ties between the peoples of Eastern Europe which would overcome the nationalist animosities and exclusivist legacies of the 19th and 20th centuries. To this end the HSWP has espoused and implemented the tenets of "Leninist" nationality policies. (In actuality, "Leninist" nationality policy differs greatly from state to state. Although the USSR, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Albania all pay lip-service to its principles, they mean different things in each one of these settings and its practical implementation leads to unlike and frequently contradictory consequences!) This basic policy requires the acceptance of diversity and rejects (in theory) the "de-nationalization" or coerced assimilation of any national or ethnic community. It demands that the formula "socialist in content and national in form" apply to state and social policy.[7]

The Hungarian application of this formula in the education of its minority nationalities has undergone five distinct phases since the end of World War II. The first phase lasted from 1945 to 1948. It was a transition period which was marred by the expulsion of some Hungarians from the neighboring states. It also

witnessed the deportation of many Swabian Germans from Hungary, and a limited population exchange with Czechoslovakia. The period was therefore, like in all of East Central Europe, one where pluralism was given lip-service but not really practiced. This was followed by the consolidation of Communist control under Mátyás Rákosi in 1947-48. Under his direction the second phase of minority policies was instituted. This phase lasted from 1948 to the death of Stalin in March 1953. It witnessed continued intolerance toward the Germans and discrimination against the South Slavs after the Cominformist split between Yugoslavia and the USSR.[8] "Leninist" nationality policy was applied selectively in this time-period. Thus, it too provided only limited opportunities for an educational system that would consider the different needs of its minority nationalities.

Only during the third (1953-56), fourth (1956-68) and fifth (1968-present) phases has the Hungarian educational system undertaken a systematic effort to provide "the Socialist content" in the nationalities' own "national form". De-Stalinization, the growth of "national communism" and international political pressures have contributed to the emergence of the Hungarian state's active promotion of national minority educational programs. However, the main concern of this study is not to dwell on the background of these programs, but to describe them, relate them to the overall educational process and then to point out any implications they may have for continuing adult education.

As Randolph L. Braham points out in his recent summary study of the Hungarian educational system:

> The Hungarian Communist regime considers education an important, if not determining, factor in the development of the new social order and in the drive for rapid modernization of the country. Education is expected to train the growing number of ideologically class conscious and politically reliable technicians and professionals required by the social institutions and the various branches of the national economy.[9]

The national minorities in Hungary cannot be left out of consideration. They have

to be subjected to the same socialization process in the schools as the rest of the population. In this way they too can be transformed into "reliable technicians and professionals" and ideologically committed supporters of the regime. However, in their case, the educational system must also provide them with education that helps them preserve their language and culture. It must, in a word, integrate them into the society, economy and political order of Hungary without assimilating them.

From a legal standpoint the educational rights of the nationalities are guaranteed in the Hungarian Constitution of August 20, 1949 (Article 49, par. 1) and its 1972 major revision, which provides more elaboration on these rights in Article 61, pars. 1, 2, & 3. In sum, it guarantees the nationalities equality and protection against any form of discrimination based on their nationality. At the same time the constitution provides protection for the unhindered use of a nationality's mother tongue, the guarantee for institutional support of a nationality's cultural preservation and development, and the right to instruction in the mother tongue.[10] These general guarantees have been supplemented by pronouncements and directives of the HSWP and by laws and regulations which must be implemented by the government. From the perspective of education, the most important party pronouncements have been those of May 21, 1956 exercising self-criticism relative to the fate of the German and South Slav minorities; the Party resolution on the nationality question of October 7, 1958, which committed the Party to undoing the mistakes of the past; and the Party Central Committee resolution of September 17, 1968, which reaffirmed the correctness of the 1958 resolution and outlined concrete steps to implement the intent of these resolutions.[11] This required a much greater commitment and support for minority nationality educational programs and cultural institutions. An extensive network of laws and government regulations now exist to assure the implementation of Party objectives in this area. Of particular significance is the May 1972 policy statement on minority nationality education

by the Ministry of Culture.[12]

At the center of Hungarian nationality policy has been the intent to make of the minorities active participants in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. To this end the regime has sponsored educational and cultural institutions which have had an "integrationist" rather than an "assimilationist" bias. The institutional framework has provided maximum opportunity for the development of bilingualism. While it has expended great energy to make sure everyone has the opportunity to learn Hungarian, it has assured the minority nationalities of institutions which help to preserve their own languages. This was achieved through two types of nationality schools, the nationality schools where everything (except Hungarian literature and language) was taught in the nationality language, or in schools which had instruction in Hungarian, but the minority nationality language was a required subject. The choice of type of school attended was left to the students and their parents. However, both kinds of schools could assure the maintenance and development of bilingualism. Since the 1960-61 academic year (Public education law 1961 /III) these two kinds of schools have been merged into so-called bilingual schools in which the sciences are taught in Hungarian while the humanities are taught in the languages of the minority nationalities. At the same time, the terminology needed in any subject is taught in both languages.[13]

The examination of the available data on nationality education since 1945. indicates that in number of schools, pupils, teachers and programs there tended to be some stagnation until the end of the 1960s. From about the time of the 1968 Party resolution on the nationality question, there is a distinct revival of nationality educational involvement. The difference is that until 1968 the prevailing attitude was that the nationality question had been solved. In retrospect this position has been labeled "automatism". It was based on the assumption

that with the advent of a Marxist-Leninist regime and the termination of class struggle, national antagonisms and nationality-related problems would be automatically overcome. International events were to call into question the wisdom of both the assumptions and the resultant perceptions of automatism. In particular, the heavy-handed treatment of the Hungarian minorities in Rumania and Czechoslovakia made responsible policy-makers take a second look at the "Leninist" solutions of the nationality question. In Hungary, this second look forced policy-makers to abandon automatism and to take an active role in formulating and developing educational and cultural institutions for the nationalities which would assure them of their existence and future developmental opportunities.

The decline in minority education which had also become evident in Hungary during the 1960's was halted, and reversed. (Just one example is the decline in kindergarten enrollment. In the 1960-61 academic year there were 2223 students whereas in the 1968-69 academic year their number had dwindled to 1340.)[14] A general shake-up and re-organization of the minority educational system was instituted. The Ministry of Culture revitalized the role and supervisory function of its Minority Nationality Division. It established a Nationality Department within the National Pedagogical Institute to oversee long-term planning in the nationality area and to provide adequate teacher-training programs for the nationality schools. At the same time, the hours of instruction in the minority languages was increased at all levels. Furthermore, in areas inhabited by the minority nationalities the schools serving Hungarian students would henceforth offer the language of the minorities to the Hungarian students. In fact, majority students could satisfy part of their language requirements by studying a minority language rather than one of the "world languages" (i.e., English, Russian, French, German).[15]

As a consequence of these reforms and some other measures, a dramatic improvement in minority education followed. Already by 1974-75 it was evident

that the abandonment of the automatism stance of

the ruling elite, led to benefits and increased opportunities for the nationalities at least on the kindergarten level. By 1979-80, the benefits were apparent at all levels of education. The number of kindergartens increased from 36 in 1968-69 to 127 in 1974-75 and 187 in 1979-80. At the same time, the number of students for these same kindergartens increased from 1340 to 4851 to 9643. Also for these same years and same institutions the number of kindergarten teachers increased from 40 to 171 to 321.[16] All nationalities benefited from this growth, but the German and Slovak institutions probably showed the largest increases in absolute numbers.

A similar pattern of growth took place at the general (primary) and secondary levels of education. While of the two kinds of elementary schools, the language-teaching variety showed the greatest increases, all types of institutions reflected growth. Typical was the development in the general language-teaching schools. While in 1968-69 there were 254 such schools with 18,284 students and 353 teachers, in 1974-75 there were 301 schools with 23,438 students and 502 teachers, and by 1979-80 the corresponding figures were 296 schools, 30,905 students and 553 teachers.[17] The data at the secondary levels reveals the same pattern. Again, in absolute numbers the Germans and Slovaks are the major beneficiaries, but proportionately all the nationalities make similar gains.

In terms of the long-range survival of any nationality culture, the teacher-training programs are critical. In this area as well, significant gains have been made by all the nationalities. The number of graduates from pedagogical institutions is indicative of the overall trend outlined above. For kindergartens the number of graduates was 16 in 1968-69, 51 in 1974-75 and 69 in 1979-80. For general schools the number of graduates was 107 in 1968-69, 223 in 1974-75 and 230 in 1979-80.[18] One aspect of the teacher-training program and higher education opportunities that these statistics do not reveal is the possibility for nationality

students to study at the universities of the neighboring state where their culture and language is the dominant culture and language. The Hungarian state has supported such educational options, both because it has expanded the educational opportunities of its minorities and because this is a concrete means for demonstrating its commitment to make the minorities into "bridges" between the different peoples of East Central Europe.

One interesting aspect of teacher-training in Hungary is the extensive use of correspondence courses. This is one mode of continuing education which has been utilized to an increasing degree by aspiring minority nationality teachers. Kindergarten teachers who have taken this route to continue their education have increased from two in 1968-69 to 10 in 1974-75 to 28 in 1979-80. At the general primary and secondary levels correspondence course participants have increased from 31 in 1968-69 to 108 in 1974-75 to 157 in 1979-80.[19] In the area of formal education this is the only kind of continuing, adult education, concerning which data is available on the minorities. Although Hungary has utilized an extensive network of evening classes and other continuing education programs, particularly in the area of political activism no data exists on the minority nationality participation in these programs.[20]

Beyond the formal educational institutions, present-day Hungary also provides a congenial atmosphere for continuing education. The Tudományos Ismeretterjesztő Társulat (TIT - Association for the Dissemination of Scientific Knowledge) is the most active and influential agency for raising the level of general awareness, knowledge and information available to the citizenry in Hungary. TIT is the organization that has taken over the "népművelő" ("people's education") responsibility of the active private groups of the interwar period. It came into existence in 1953 and has since that time developed a network of county, city, local and workplace organizations with a total membership of ca. 20,000. Most of its membership is drawn from educators, researchers or scientists. Its

main objective is to present on a popular level the knowledge that is available at any point in time. To this end the organization is the major sponsor of non-political lectures and informational presentations as well as publications which serve this same end (e.g., Élet és tudomány [Life and Science], Valóság [Reality], etc.). It is the major organizer of extra-curricular, non-credit lecture series and workshops in various subjects. In an average year it organizes more than 35,000 lectures which are attended by ca. 1,3 million people. Its most popular non-credit courses relate to foreign language study, but it has numerous other "study circles" which focus their attention on some discipline or specialization (e.g., astronomy, history, mathematics, etc.).[21] While it does not have separate "nationality" study circles, its local or work-place representatives can and do serve the quest for more know-how and information without discriminating along national lines.

In this activity TIT supplements the more overtly political propaganda function of the mass organizations like KISZ (Communist Youth Federation), Hazafias Népfront (Patriotic Popular Front) as well as the specifically minority nationality organizations like the Magyarországi Délszlávok Demokratikus Szövetsége (Democratic Federation of South Slavs in Hungary) or the Magyarországi Románok Demokratikus Szövetsége (Democratic Federation of Rumanians in Hungary). The activities of the latter groups are more directly linked to directing the cultural activities and other informal educational programs which may benefit the nationalities. In many instances local lecture series, or programs serving the continuing education needs of a nationality, would be co-sponsored by TIT and the nationality's own "Democratic Federation".[22]

In support of informal and cultural educational activities the nationalities have developed local clubs and cultural associations. These too have seen a flowering since the HSWP has abandoned its "automatism" stance in 1968. General nationality folklore clubs have increased from about 40 to 68 from the early 1970's

to 1977.[23] The number of nationality choruses has also increased significantly from 38 in 1968 to 133 in 1973 and 139 in 1977. A similarly dramatic increase has been registered in the area of nationality bands. In 1968 there were a total of 59 such bands. By 1977 their number almost doubled to 106 bands. Folkdance groups also increased in the nationality areas of Hungary. From a total of 63 such groups in 1968 there were 125 by 1973, and 145 by 1977. Nationality theatre groups also increased significantly during these years, although there has been some backsliding more recently in this area. In 1968 there were 22 such groups throughout Hungary. This number increased to 48 in 1973 and then declined to 40 in 1977. Altogether the growth of such cultural clubs has been substantial, from a total of 182 in 1968 they have increased to a total of 498 in 1977.[24] The South-Slav nationalities have made the greatest gains in this area, almost equalling the number of such clubs among the Germans.

The data concerning nationality museums and libraries is more difficult to evaluate. The Germans, Rumanians and Slovaks each have their own central museum, while the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes share a museum. According to 1977 statistics each one of these nationalities also possesses at least one regional museum facility, with 14 for the whole country. There are an additional 43 other local nationality collections of a more limited nature. In this area the South Slav and Slovak collections seem to be the most numerous, while the German collections barely exceed the Rumanian holdings.[25] The library collections are also limited at present. As in relation to everything else discussed above, significant improvements have taken place since 1969. At that time the nationality book collection inventory for communities indicated only 16,917 volumes. By 1977 the community holdings had been expanded to 120,600 volumes. Taken together with the nationality school libraries and the Gorky State Library the total holdings of the nationality libraries climbs to 305,600 volumes in 1977.[26] These statistics will continue to improve in the future because nationality book publishing is on the increase.

Nationality books and textbooks are being published in Hungary and cooperatively with some of Hungary's neighbors. In the first five-year plan for nationality books, 54 volumes were published between 1976-1980. In the second five-year plan (1981-1985) 157 volumes have been provided for in the state budget. At the same time, some books have been published cooperatively with Yugoslavia, and to a lesser extent with Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Cooperative publishing activities with Rumania have lagged in recent years. However, Hungary has used textbooks published in the neighboring states. Altogether 79 such books are in use at the present in primary and secondary schools.[27] For adult education and continuing education the weekly newspapers of the national minorities provide some opportunities for self-instructed learning. All four of them (Neue Zeitung [German], Ludove Noviny [Slovak], Narodne Novine [Croatian, Szerbian, Slovenian], Foaia Noastra [Rumanian]) have a weekly column dealing with correct language-usage and some also carry articles which focus on the history of the minority nationality. The frequency and number of these newspapers has also tended to increase, although not significantly. In 1968, 9,135 issues were printed in comparison to 9,794 in 1974.[28]

Most adult education for the national minorities takes place in the Hungarian language. The nationality school structure and cultural institutions do not provide the variety in continuing education opportunities that are available through TIT or the existing school programs. However, since the nationality population of Hungary is almost completely bilingual, the minorities have access to these opportunities. (According to the data of 1960, at that time only 23,315 people in Hungary did not speak Hungarian.[29] Twenty years later, that number is probably even smaller).

A number of periodicals provide continuing education opportunities for all the inhabitants of the country. These can be utilized by the minority nationalities

as well as the Hungarians. One of the most original such popular periodical is Uj Tükör (New Mirror) which focuses on general cultural awareness, with particular emphasis on developments in theatre and film. The readers of this periodical are not passive consumers. They organize local Uj Tükör clubs which discuss the articles in the periodical. The subscribers are in a real sense involved in an ongoing self-development program with the periodical. Although Uj Tükör started out as a youth oriented publication, it involves mainly older people in its discussion groups.[30] These have become ongoing seminars and they have provided an unstructured forum for continuing education for all the inhabitants of Hungary without regard to national origin.

In the foregoing I have presented a profile of nationality educational opportunities in Hungary. It is meant to be a brief overview that describes the opportunities and the limits of nationality cultural development. On occasion I have also digressed to provide some explanation for the nature of these developments. However, the explanations are in most instances conjectural and tentative. More data is necessary before anyone can speak with confidence about the reasons why Hungary is moving in the direction of cultural pluralism. Furthermore, this policy is based on both domestic and international considerations. This makes the policy quite vulnerable. Although Hungary is expanding the cultural and educational opportunities of its nationalities, the long-term benefits of this program depend on the goodwill of the people who are responsible for implementing them. These are mainly people at the middle or lower levels of administration in the educational system and the cultural institutions of the country. Their goodwill is needed to sustain the success of the present policies. If they are continually reminded that the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring states are not being treated well, or that they are actually discriminated against, the goodwill will eventually evaporate in spite of what the HSWP and what the government in Budapest do. In a real sense, the excessive nationalism of some of Hungary's

neighbors may undermine the success of pluralism for the nationalities. Reciprocity in the treatment of minorities would sustain and expand the present Hungarian policies. Reciprocity in this area would also assure the bridging role of the minorities and in the long-run, draw all the peoples of East Central Europe closer to one another.

FOOTNOTES

1. When I started my research on the education of ethnic groups in Hungary, I wanted to survey all of them. Very early in my research I realized that that would be an impossible task without access to certain sources in Hungary itself. Thus, I reduced the scope of my study to the consideration of minority nationality groups rather than all ethnic groups. However, I have retained "ethnic subgroup" in the title of the essay because it is a more inclusive category than national minority. In the present study "ethnic minorities are viewed as cultural communities or subcultures which are generally dispersed throughout the population and see their destiny as part and parcel of the majority community with which they share a common territory and state organization. National minorities, or nationalities, on the other hand, may be self-conscious national communities with their own language and culture which is different enough from the majority community that it might seek self-determination (or at least a certain amount of political autonomy) if that option were feasible from a geographic, economic or demographic perspective. In Hungary I would classify Gypsies and Jews as ethnic or ethno-religious communities, while Germans, Slovaks, Rumanians, Serbians, Croatians and Slovenians I would classify as minority nationalities.

2. The Book of World Rankings (New York: Facts on File, 1979), p. 396.

3. László Kövágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon (Nationalities in Contemporary Hungary) (Budapest: Kossuth Konyvkiado, 1981), Table 4, p. 20.

4. Ibid., p. 21. Also see "Background Notes: Hungary", United States Department of State (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 1.

5. Quoted in Alfred J. Bannan and Achilles Edelenyi (eds.), Documentary History of Eastern Europe (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1970), p. 48.

6. Robert R. King, Minorities Under Communism: Nationalities as a Source of Tension Among Balkan Communist States (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), Ch. 4.

7. The history of this flexibility is traced sympathetically to its Soviet origins by István Dolmányos, A Nemzetiségi Politika Története A Szovjetunióban (The History of Nationality Policies in the Soviet Union) (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1964). A more objective analysis of its early evolution is presented in Richard Pipes, The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism (Rev. Ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964) and Alfred D. Low, Lenin on the Question of Nationality (New York: Bookman Associates, 1958).

8. King, Minorities Under Communism, p. 67-70.

9. The Educational System of Hungary (U.S. Department of Education; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 27.

10. Kövágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, pp. 67, 88-89.

11. László Kövágo, Nemzetiségeink Jelene (The Present Status of our Nationalities) (Budapest: ELTE Kelet-Europai és Nemzetiségi Kutatócsoport, 1976), p. 30.

12. Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, pp. 141-42, 188.

13. Ibid., p. 135.

14. Ibid., p. 136.

15. Ibid., pp. 138-140.

16. Ibid., Appendix, table I, p. 181; Braham, The Educational System of Hungary, p. 10; Also see Pártélet (Party Life) no. 4 (April, 1978).

17. Ibid., Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, Appendix, tables II & III, pp. 182-83; Braham, The Educational System of Hungary, p. 13.

18. Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, Appendix, Table V, p. 184.

19. Ibid.

20. Vera Biró, Antal Gönyei, et.al., Kulturális Intézmények és Szervezetek Magyarországon (Kultural Institutions and Associations in Hungary) (Budapest: Kossuth Könyvkiadó, 1976), pp. 112-127.

21. Ibid., p. 246.

22. Ibid., pp. 239-243.

23. Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, Appendix, Table XI, p. 186.

24. Ibid., pp. 186-187.

25. Ibid., Table XIII, p. 187.

26. Ibid. For the role of the Gorky State Library also see Lajos Für, "Nemzetiségi Kérdés, Nemzetiségtudományi Kutatások" (Nationality Question, Researching Nationality Studies) Valóság (Reality) XXV, No. 1 (January, 1982), pp. 44-45.

27. Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, Appendix, Table VII, p. 185.

28. Kővágo, Nemzetiségeink Jelene, p. 78.

29. Kővágo, Nemzetiségek A Mai Magyarországon, p. 127.

30. See "Felhivás" (Notice) Uj Tükör (New Mirror) XVI, no. 20 (May 20, 1979), p. 46.